

AN
ADDRESS
TO
THE PARLIAMENT AND PEOPLE
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,
ON THE PAST AND PRESENT STATE OF AFFAIRS
BETWEEN
SPAIN AND GREAT BRITAIN,
RESPECTING THEIR AMERICAN POSSESSIONS.

L O N D O N:

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MDCCXC.

ADDRESS, &c.

THE conquest of Jamaica in 1655, occasioned a great emigration of British adventurers to that island, and from thence to the Mosquito Shores, the country forming the Bay of Campechey, and the Eastern parts of Yucatan; in each of which they made considerable settlements, and from thence carried on a great trade with Jamaica in mahogany, logwood, other wood, and tortoise-shell, in exchange for various necessaries imported from that island.

Those settlements were made under the direction and sanction of his majesty Charles II. through his governors of Jamaica, who, as occasion required, re-

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ported to his majesty and the privy-council the progress they made, and attainment of strength and stability, under the proclamations issued for their government and security.

Thus established in possession of those countries, rivers, adjacent islands, quays, wood-trade, and fisheries, the English continued in full right to occupy the same when, in the year 1670, a treaty was entered into between Spain and Great-Britain for settling peace in America; by the 8th article of which it is stipulated, that "The king of Great-Britain shall hold and enjoy all the lands, countries, &c. he is now possessed of in America." And by article 15th it is declared, that "This treaty shall no ways derogate, from any preeminence, right, or sovereignty which either king has on the seas or fresh waters of America." By this treaty the rights, sovereignty, and possessions of the English, in and to the extensive tract then possessed by them

on the Eastern and Northern creeks and rivers called Logwood Rivers on the bay of Campechy, all the tracts possessed on the bay of Honduras, or East side of Yucatan, and the Mosquito kingdom, were clearly and fully confirmed.

In the year 1680, his Catholic Majesty Charles II. by another treaty of peace and friendship, renewed and confirmed that of 1670, with his Britannic Majesty Charles II.

The Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, fallaciously mentioned in the late Spanish manifesto, and several times since by the Spanish advocates in the daily papers, as extending the territorial claims of the crown of Spain in America, in truth, by articles 8th and 15th, only confirms equally the territorial rights of both crowns in America, the same as settled by the treaties of 1670 and 1680; that is, navigation, commerce, and the possessions of Great-Britain and Spain are

continued to each respectively, as they stood in the time of King Charles II. of Spain, and King Charles II. of Great-Britain, as above recited.

Those treaties had not the desired effect of securing peace: the Spanish government encouraged their subjects and the Spanish guarda-coastas to make frequent attacks on our settlements at Campechy, by which much property and many lives were lost; and in 1688 the settlers there were reduced in number to about 200. Those few, though strengthened by a considerable battery and block-houses, and very expert in the use of fire-arms, with which they were well supplied, were rendered weak, by the nature of their avocation of wood-cutting, in the various districts which they occupied, requiring them to be dispersed, and not very quickly assembled together when alarmed by an approach of the Spaniards. Thus harassed in violation of the treaties between the two crowns,

too

too remotely situated from their faithful friends the Mosquito Indians, and not sufficiently supported by the government of Jamaica, they were forced to withdraw themselves from Campechey, and joined the English settlers on the Eastern parts of Yucatan, under protection of the Mosquito-men; by which those valuable tracts of coast and country evacuated by them were lost to Great-Britain. The Spaniards, encouraged by this success, and finding the English ministry apparently ignorant of the value, and inattentive to the loss recently sustained; regardless of the aforesaid treaties, had the temerity to attack at different times the English settlements on Yucatan; but as often as this happened, though the British government passively submitted to those insults, the Mosquito Indians joined the bay-men in repelling the Dons, and in reestablishing the English settlers there. In 1751 the Spaniards, with a view the more easily to interrupt the communication between the English settlers

tlers and the Mosquito Indians, began a
 small settlement, and built a fort chiefly
 of wood lined with bricks at Port Omoa,
 a fine harbour for ships, situated 68
 leagues Westward of Cape Honduras,
 and stationed a guarda-coasta there
 mounting 16 carriage-guns, commanded
 by John Joseph de Palmo, who, during
 the peace, committed many violent, out-
 rageous depredations on English ships
 with impunity, though representations
 thereof were made by the sufferers, and
 also by R. Jones, Esq. then governor of
 the Mosquito country, to the governor of
 Jamaica, and to the British ministers, who
 either would not, or could not obtain
 satisfaction for those injuries. Elated by
 this, and their success at Campechey,
 and considering all treaties with heretics
 as mere empty forms, the Spaniards,
 during peace 1759, made a sudden pow-
 erful attack on the British inhabitants
 of Yucatan, who, unable quickly to as-
 semble in sufficient number, or to pro-
 cure the Mosquito Indians in time to re-
 pel

pel them, were obliged to retire to their certain and usual asylum the Mosquito shore, where they employed themselves in cutting mahogany and gathering sarsaparilla. They exported from thence in one year 800,000 superficial feet of mahogany, 200,000 lb. of sarsaparilla, and 10,000 lb. of tortoise-shells, besides many other valuable commodities, also products of the Mosquito country.

A pause here seems necessary, to examine what treaties have been thus violated, and to determine whether the articles in them, relative to the security of private property, be sufficiently clear and decisive on that subject; and to serve as a criterion in a further detail of transactions between Spain and Great Britain. Treaty 1667, article 36, says “ If it shall
 “ happen hereafter that any difference
 “ fall out (which God forbid) between
 “ the king of Great Britain, and the king
 “ of Spain, whereby the mutual commerce and good correspondence may be
 “ endangered

"endangered, the respective subjects and
 "people of each party, shall have notice
 "thereof given them in time, that is to say,
 "the space of six months to transport
 "their merchandize and effects, without
 "giving them in that time any molestation
 "or trouble, or retaining or embarking
 "their goods or persons."

Treaty of Navigation and Commerce of
 November 1713, article 6th. "The sub-
 "jects of each shall enjoy an entire, secure,
 "and unmolested use of the navigation
 "and commerce, as long as the peace
 "shall continue. And it is further agreed,
 "that according to the contents of the
 "36th article of the treaty of 1667, after
 "the declaration of such rupture, the
 "space of six months shall be allowed to
 "the subjects of each party, residing in
 "the dominions of the other, in which
 "they shall be permitted to withdraw
 "with their families, goods, wealth,
 "merchandizes, effects, and ships, and
 "to transport them, after having paid
 "the due and accustomed imposts, either
 "by

“by sea or land, to whatsoever place they
 “please; as they shall also be suffered to
 “sell and alienate their moveable and
 “immoveable goods, and freely and with-
 “out any disturbance, to carry away the
 “price of them; nor shall their goods,
 “wealth, merchandizes, or effects, *much*
 “*less their persons, be in the mean time, de-*
 “*tained, or molested, by any seizure or*
 “*arrest.*”

Article 7th. “And it is further agreed,
 “that all the losses which the subjects of
 “either crown shall duly prove, that
 “they have sustained in the beginning
 “of the late war, (contrary to the tenor
 “of the 36th article of the above menti-
 “oned treaty) whether moveable or im-
 “moveable goods, shall be reciprocally
 “made good, without any delay to them,
 “their lawful procurators, heirs, or those
 “to whom their cause is entrusted; and
 “restitution shall be made of those goods,
 “whether lands, buildings, or inherit-
 “*ance,*”

“ance, or of what sort soever they are,
 “which remain and were confiscated; and
 “the just and lawful price of those goods
 “which cannot be recovered, shall be paid.
 “And their majesties have articted and
 “agreed, that the said payments, the
 “pretenſion being proved, ſhall faithfully
 “be performed and made by their trea-
 “ſurers on each part.”

The Treaty of peace and friendſhip
 concluded in July in the ſame year, 1713,
 at Utrecht, Article 18th, “But if the dif-
 “putes which are compoſed, ſhould at
 “any time be renewed between their
 “Royal Majesties, and break out into open
 “war, the ſhips, merchandizes, and goods,
 “both moveable and immoveable, of the
 “ſubjects on both ſides, which ſhall be
 “found to be and remain in the ports
 “and dominions of the adverſe party,
 “ſhall not be confiscated, or ſuffer any
 “damage, but the ſpace of ſix months on
 “the one part and on the other, ſhall be
 “granted to the ſubjects of each, in order
 “to

“ to their selling the aforesaid things, or
 “ any other their effects, or carrying away
 “ or transporting the same from thence,
 “ whithersoever they please, without any
 “ molestation.”

The above articles were renewed and confirmed, by the 9th article of the treaty concluded in the year 1750. A reflection here naturally arises, how little effect treaties have had on the conduct of Spain, or in prevention of the many ravages complained of. Those hostilities of the Spaniards against the British subjects in Honduras in the year 1759, continued there, and Spain did not declare war until January 1762, when the family compact gave vigour to a junction with France. This glorious war in 1763, gave Great Britain power to dictate her own terms of peace, notwithstanding which, the island of Cuba was restored to Spain; the Floridas, of little importance, held; and in place of a spirit of indignation at the cruelties perpetrated in Campechey

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and Honduras, demanding a dereliction of those places, and satisfaction for the injuries sustained there, our negotiators overlooked those insults, and meanly permitted the seventeenth article to be foisted into the treaty of peace.

The second article of this treaty confirms all former treaties between Spain and Great Britain; consequently, by renewing and confirming that of 1670, the eighth article of which secures to Great Britain all her possessions at that time in America, all the tracts at Yucatan and the islands adjacent, then occupied by the English, were thereby confirmed to the crown of Great Britain. Yet by the 17th article of the same treaty, "his Britannic Majesty shall cause to be demolished all the fortifications which his subjects shall have erected in the Bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain, in that part of the world." And his Catholic Majesty shall not permit his Britannic Majesty's subjects,

or

“or their workmen, to be disturbed or
 “molested under any pretence what-
 “ever, in the said places, in their occu-
 “pation of cutting and carrying away
 “logwood; and for this purpose they
 “may build without hindrance, and oc-
 “cupy without interruption, the houses
 “and magazines necessary for them, for
 “their families and effects. And his
 “Catholic Majesty assures to them by
 “this article, the full enjoyment of those
 “advantages and powers on the Spanish
 “coasts and territories, as above stipu-
 “lated.”

Thus, in the mode of expression, by
 joining “*The Bay of Honduras,*” with
 “and other places of the territories of
 “*Spain,*” the Spanish negociators con-
 found the one with the other. Be this
 as it will, a conqueror submitting to the
 ignominious terms of relinquishing, or
 rendering doubtful the right of sove-
 reignty in that country, disarming, and
 confiding the preservation of the exist-
 ence

ence of the British inhabitants of it to an enemy, was an extraordinary conduct, big with evil consequences, as inexplicable as it was to confine the general right they had always exercised of cutting and carrying away the mahogany, and all sorts of wood they desired, to the cutting and carrying away logwood alone.

The British subjects, allured by his Catholic Majesty's engagement to his Britannic Majesty in this Treaty for their safety, and the solemn assurance given there in to themselves by the honour of the crown of Spain being pledged for their future security, returned to their ancient establishments in the Bay of Honduras; and, though left defenceless, pursued with avidity their usual occupation, without any apprehension of danger. Their industry made them prosperous. They ripened into a state of considerable possessions of property; when in the year 1779, his Catholic Majesty's troops, and other of his armed subjects, in violation of
of

of all the before mentioned treaties and solemn assurances, seized upon, and made prisoners of them all, but a few who escaped, and robbed and plundered them of their whole property. Like the worst of criminals, they were led in chains from place to place, through the country of Yucatan; insulted, and at last carried and lodged in prisons at the Havannah; where they remained until July 1782, when such of them as survived, were allowed to retire to Jamaica. Any instance of so base a treachery as this, can only be found in the annals of Spanish perfidy.

After this, and former experience, it might be enquired, what future security can Great Britain ever have to bind Spain, since treaties, conventions, the royal word, and strongest assurances, have been found of no effect? But that not being the present object, it is fit to proceed to explain that those facts have been established beyond a possibility of doubt.

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The loss of *private property*, ascertained in the most proper and authentic manner, amounting at the present time to considerably above 100,000 l. The loss of many lives however, cannot be valued. No demands can be made to atone for the loss of those unfortunate persons who perished through their being left defenceless victims to a merciless enemy.

However astonishing it may appear, true it is, that this atrocity, like all the before mentioned delinquencies of Spain, was permitted to pass unpunished. Every proper application possible was made to the British Ministers, and through them to the Court of Spain, prior to, and during the negociation of the treaty of peace in 1783; also afterwards, and during the twenty months pending state of the *ever-memorable convention of 1786*; and since that time, for satisfaction, and that the losses should be paid conformable to treaty, but without effect. The law of nations,

nations, force of treaties, and solemn *royal assurances*, cannot at times be enforced, and when such sacrifices must be made of the cause and property of many individuals to the policy of public national good, there cannot be a doubt but that the justice of Parliament will interpose its benign influence in support of those useful unfortunate people, by granting them a full compensation for all such of their losses, as can be repaired by pecuniary means.

We now look forward to the treaty of 1783, restoring the Floridas to Spain, and the Bahamas to Great Britain, and farther circumscribing the rights of cutting *logwood*. That is to say, prior to the treaty of 1763, we had the sovereignty of soil, and undefined rights. By that treaty we were disarmed there, and the right of cutting logwood was fixed “*in the Bay of Honduras, and other places of the territory of Spain, in that part of the world.*” Our right of cutting is now by — treaty of 1783, confined to the coun-

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try in the Bay, situated between the river "Wallis, and Rio Hondo," comparatively a small spot, very small indeed, when compared to our former unlimited and immensely extensive possessions. The unbounded fields wherever the dying and other woods were to be found, reduced to the narrow limits above mentioned, and prevented from making any settlement in the healthy situations on the islands where ships came to load.

The Spanish trap was again set, to catch the credulous and enterprising English. "They may without interruption build therein houses and magazines necessary for themselves, their families, and their effects: *And his Catholic Majesty assures to them the enjoyment of all that is expressed in the present article, provided that these stipulations shall not be considered as derogating in any wise from his rights of sovereignty.*" Here again is the oblique claims of sovereignty renewed, without being clearly defined

defined to what it applies. Notwithstanding, as was observed respecting the treaty of 1763, the second article of this one having also renewed and confirmed the treaties of 1670, and all others made since, by which these possessions were clearly the right of Great Britain. As the Spaniards pressed forward, we gave way in all things. "The English who
 "may be dispersed in any other parts,
 "whether on *the Spanish continent*, or in
 "any of the islands whatsoever, dependant on the afore said Spanish continent, shall retire within the district
 "above described, in the space of eighteen months. They shall be permitted
 "to enjoy a free fishery for their subsistence on the coasts of the district agreed
 "on, or islands opposite thereto, *but not to make any establishment on the islands.*" That all fortifications shall be demolished, and the British subjects shall not erect any there.

The ambiguity, carefully introduced

to serve their future purposes, by the Spanish negociators, and without opposition admitted, is remarkable, in *the Spanish continent,—the islands dependant on the Spanish continent.* A spirited upright British minister would have admitted of no such expressions, but would have insisted upon a clear explanation and mode of expression.

What a wonderful infatuation, that after all that has happened, and no prospect from the past base conduct of ministers of any hope of support or reparation of future injuries, that adventurers should still be found to engage again in the precarious undertaking of a re-establishment on the Bay of Honduras ! Such however was their attachment to their ancient possessions, which they thought they had a just right to, that they returned, but under very great precautions, leaving their families and property on the Mosquito Shore, from whence they could have occasional supplies, and to
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which, by keeping constant spies on the motions of the Spaniards, they could, in case of alarm, suddenly retire in their small craft, kept always ready for that purpose.

The Spaniards, under these circumstances, seeing they had no chance of robbing them again of great property, meditated means to get them more into their power, that by frequent repetitions of robbing and destroying, which long experience had taught them might be done with impunity, they might exterminate the remaining bay-men, and put a total stop to that important branch of British commerce.

The only possible means to attain this grand object, was to disunite them from their guardians, the Mosquito Indians, and deprive them of their secure asylum, the Mosquito Shore. In attempting this, force of arms could be of no use, for *The Mosquito kingdom had ever*
been

been found invulnerable, and their attachment to Great Britain for an hundred and fifty years past, inviolate.

Court intrigue was then recurred to. What powerful machinations, magnetic bulfes, corrupt or other means were used, is left for others to develope. The great, the invaluable Mosquito kingdom, whose kings, William, Jeremy, Peter, Edward, Prince, and George, with all their tribes, gloried in declaring themselves British subjects, basely and traiterously fell a sacrifice!

That sacred union cultivated by king Charles II. James II. William and Mary, queen Ann, George I. George II. and his present majesty, until the present administration took place, was broken.

The sacred ties of unalterable friendship torn asunder, and the British natural born subjects forced to abandon their estates and property to a great amount
upon

upon the Mosquito Shore. The losses sustained by individuals perhaps may not much exceed 100,000l. which can easily be supplied by parliament for their relief, it being an act of justice they are most indubitably justly intitled to, much in preference to the Florida and other sufferers, who are partly already compensated. But what reparation can be made to the dignity of the crown for the loss of the rights of sovereignty in and over that kingdom, the most important of all the British settlements? or to this nation, for the infinite advantages and benefits that would have abundantly flowed from its cultivation, which are now given up? and with them the wood trade, which by this *diabolical damned convention* of 1786, is deprived of all protection, and the families and effects forced from the Mosquito Country to the Bay of Honduras, now placed as so many hostages or prisoners, without a possibility of escape from the ferocity of the cruel Spanish Americans,

Americans, whenever a signal shall be made for their total extirpation.

CONVENTION, 1786.

“ To settle, by a new convention, the
 “ points which might one day or other
 “ be productive of such inconveniencies,
 “ as the experience of former times has
 “ very often shewn*.”

ART. I. “ His Britannick majesty’s
 “ subjects, and the other colonists, shall
 “ evacuate the country of the Mosquito’s,
 “ *as well as the continent in general, and*
 “ *islands adjacent.*” If it was merely meant
 here to evacuate the country of the Mos-
 “ quitos alone, and the islands adjacent
 “ to the Mosquito Shore, there was no
 occasion for the words *as well as the conti-*
nent in general, and the islands adjacent. I shall
 only observe further on this point, that
 the duke of Leeds and the chancellor of the

* A kingdom given up, and upwards of 100,000l.
 of private property to prevent inconveniencies.

exchequer,

exchequer, Mr. Pitt, can best explain what they meant, and their reasons for admitting of words of such latitude as to comprehend the continent of America and the West India islands. The meaning of the Spanish minister will be disclosed in future conventions. The islands adjacent to the Mosquito Shore, are corn islands, pearle quays, and a great number of small ones called quays, situate between the southern boundary of the Mosquito Country and Cape Gratio's Adios. Our ministers have not discriminated between those and the islands of St. Andera and Catalina, or Old Providence, taken from the Spaniards by sir Henry Morgan *, and ever since possessed by British subjects, till a few months ago, when a Spanish man of war appeared, the captain of which ordered them off in pain of confiscation of their effects and imprisonment of their persons. As well might they take Jamaica as these two conquered islands.

* Soon after the taking of Jamaica.

By

By the second article, his Catholic Majesty extends the limits in the Bay of Honduras from the river Wallis to the river Sibun, which is about twelve or thirteen English nautic miles, and from the sea to its source, being a small part of what the inhabitants constantly occupied prior to the treaty 1783, and from which all the logwood worth having, and the greatest part of the mahogany, was already taken. The British settlers having cut the wood even 100 miles beyond the upper boundary, of which the ministers were informed by the English who had long resided there, and also by a map for their use, by a bay-man, afterwards published in February 1787, by Mr. the king's geographer.

ART. III. *“ Although no other advantages have hitherto been in question,”* his majesty, to oblige the king of Great Britain, will grant liberty to cut all *“ other woods.”* This fully proves that our ministers, regardless of the humble petitions and memorials representing the

the misery and hardships of the logwood cutters, did not propose any thing for their comfort, or preservation of their existence, not even the right to plant corn, yams, potatoes, &c. which they had done prior to this time. Without being asked, the king gives leave to cut all other woods besides those for dying, not excepting mahogany, a privilege the bay-men had always exercised, even since 1763, believing, though logwood was mentioned, all inferior, and other woods were comprehended. And leave to gather “all the *fruits, or produce of the earth,* “*purely natural and uncultivated:*” by this pretended benefit to preclude them from raising any garden-stuffs, bread corn, or any thing for their subsistence, since which they have not been allowed to do, and are thereby greatly distressed, and sometimes in danger of starving.

ART. IV. Permission to occupy the small island of Casina, and St. George's Key, the coasts opposite being unhealthy,

but no fortification, or *work of defence* to be erected, nor any body of troops posted there. These are small and inconsiderable to the islands formerly occupied.

ART. V. Liberty of refitting *merchant ships* in the southern triangles. And "it shall not be permitted to station any ships of war there." The preclusion of ships of war renders it impossible to have that chance of any support or escape from Spanish barbarity.

ART. VI. Leave to fish on the coast assigned them, but no leave specified to dry their nets, which of course immediately rot. Whenever their nets are discovered drying on shore, they are seized and burnt. A remedy for this evil should have been provided, had the ministers thought the complaints of those distressed people worth their notice.

ART. VII. "The restrictions in the treaty of 1783, for the entire preserv-
" ation

"ation of the rights of the Spanish so-
 "vereignty over the country; in which
 "is granted to the English only the pri-
 "vilege of making use of the wood of the dif-
 "ferent kinds, the fruits, and other produce,
 "in their natural state, are here con-
 "firmed." Here is a clear acknowlege-
 ment on the part of the Spanish minister,
 that the meaning of *the right of cutting,*
loading, and carrying away logwood in the
 17th article of treaty in 1763, and in
 6th article 1783, was as understood, both
 by the Spaniards themselves and the
 logwood-cutters, the right they always
 practised of taking all the woods they
 wanted, and as above in this convention
 of 1786, the privilege of making use of
the wood of the different kinds, of course the
 favour in article 3d, "*To oblige the king*
of Great-Britain liberty is granted of cut-
ting all other woods not excepting maho-
gany," is ridiculous;—and the guarda-
 coastas in justice answerable for the Eng-
 lish ships that were seized with maho-
 gany on board. This, and the above
 recital

recital from the 7th article of the treaty of 1783, "*of the privilege of making use of the fruits of the earth, and other produce, in their natural state,*" shews the ignorance and inattention of the English ministers, there being no such words in the treaty of 1783. The bay-men always planted small spots, while they were cutting, in potatoes, yams, and various other pulse of quick growth, without which they could not have subsisted, in very remote situations of very long and difficult access, at certain seasons of the year.

As to the restrictions for the preservation of the Spanish sovereignty above alluded to, in treaty 1783 it stands as before stated. The 2d article of that one confirms and renews the treaty of 1767, and all since, by which Great-Britain was confirmed in the right of sovereignty to Campechy and Honduras—and in article 6th is the only restrictions, that the stipulations respecting cutting of log-wood

wood "shall not be considered as derogating from *his* rights of sovereignty."

By the conclusive part of this 7th article, the unhappy logwood-cutters are to have no "system of government, military or civil, further than such regulations as their Britannic and Catholic Majesties may establish for maintaining peace and good order among their respective subjects."--To please both at the same time may be found a difficult task.

It is impossible to view this convention in the light I have been considering it, without indignation, and yet it has never been the subject of serious discussion in parliament, two noble lords having only slightly blamed the abandonment of our Mosquito allies, but the sacrifice of our right to a whole kingdom, and of a valuable and long-cherished trade with the natives, far beyond that of Nootka, any more than the sacrifice and abandonment of our own subjects and their properties
has

has never been censured. We barely relinquished what had never been disputed or claimed by Spain, and without the shadow of a reciprocal donation. We gave up the whole continent, and all the islands adjacent thereto. The Spaniards have not indeed as yet laid claim to Jamaica under that grant, but they have seized upon Old Providence and St. Andera, which as before observed, were conquered soon after Jamaica was, and has continued in our possession ever since, until a few months ago, that the Spaniards drove our people away, of which our government has not taken the least notice.

To pursue this subject through all its parts, a convention, abounding with nothing but infamy, disgrace, and injury to this country, is painful. And, yet there is no quitting it, without again adverting to that most astonishing circumstance, in article 3d, "*That no advantages on behalf of Great Britain have been in question, except that of cutting wood for drying*" setting

ting aside former delinquencies, no demand of the £120,000 due for the robbery of the inhabitants of Honduras, in 1779, committed prior to any other hostilities or war elsewhere, between the two nations! No satisfaction for the depredation and murder of those who then perished through cruel treatment and imprisonment! No reparation for the private property, of which our natural born subjects are deprived, by being forced from the Mosquito kingdom!

No condition to preserve the existence of our fellow subjects in Honduras, left defenceless, without comfort or protection, reduced like the brutes of the forest to live on the *natural produce of the earth*, and to be like them, hunted down and destroyed when the ferocity or avarice of their enemies require it!

No tender feeling excited towards our affectionate friends and adopted fellow subjects, the brave, generous, and humane Indian inhabitants of the Mosquito king-

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dom,

dom, in return for one hundred and fifty years inviolated friendship and attachment.

Struck with horror at the barbarity of those betrayers of their country's honour and interest, sacrificing its dearest friends, and most faithful allies, Article 14th, "His Catholic Majesty, *prompted solely by motives of humanity*, promises to the king "of England, that he will not exercise "any act of severity against the Mos- "quitos inhabiting in part the countries "to be evacuated by virtue of the pre- "sent convention, on account of the "connections which may have subsisted "between the said Indians and the Eng- "lish; and his Britannic Majesty on his "part, will prohibit his subjects from "furnishing arms or warlike stores to the "Indians in general, situated upon the "frontiers of the Spanish possessions" *.

* The Sambala Indians have retained their country, been at continual war with the Spaniards, and keep up the English language ever since the Scotch quitted their settlement on that part of Darian.

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To describe the feelings, expressions, and conflict of passions, excited in the Mosquito's, by information of the convention, and appearance of commissioners on each side to see executed this dreadful separation, requires the aid of an abler pen.

Ministerial orders for evacuation, need not have extended to use the means of seduction, by attempts to conciliate them to measures intended for their destruction.

The difficulty to bring some of the principal Indians into the presence of Spanish commissaries, attempts shocking to relate, to prevail on them to give hands, when ready to burst, to die with anguish, indignation, and repugnance; to get them prevailed on to taste or drink any thing until the same was first tasted and drank of by the English, was impossible. The distraction of mind expressed in the high swollen features, attitudes, and impatience,

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would be an affecting subject for the best pencil to depict, or pen to delineate. *

It would be curious, but it is beyond my power of investigation to explain or account for the motive of ministers, in dismembering the British empire, and degrading our national character in the eyes and estimation of all Europe. Conscious how imbecile and pusillanimous they must appear, they quit the usual mode of redress, act the bravos; bluster and call the nation to arms. Having made a formidable equipment, in place of using those arms to resent indignities,

* The introduction of four companies of the Irish brigades, consisting of 100 men each, in the Spanish service, to remain at Black River, where Spaniards could not with safety continue, to speak English to the Indians and endeavour to reconcile them to the change, was political on their part. But permitting such brave men to be in foreign, that might be importantly employed in our own service, reflects much on the policy of Great Britain.

and

and restore lost honour, by a deadly stroke, asserting in the words of the great lord Chatham upon a similar occasion, that “ *This was time for humbling the whole house of Bourbon;* ” “ and that if “ this opportunity was let slip, it might “ never be recovered.” Recourse was had after all, to mean procrastinating negotiation. Consciously dreading nothing so much as war, The Spanish minister by experience knew *their trim*, and how to avail himself of it. In course of this business, it was natural to expect from our negotiators some notice of the representations of general Matthews, and the memorials and petitions of the many planters and merchants of Jamaica and Grenada, to obtain numbers of negroes lured from them by Spanish emissaries, under edicts, and protected openly against the claims of their owners, sent in his Majesty’s ships to Trinidad, Carracca, and Cuba, to apply for them; some attention to the before mentioned losses in Honduras, and on the Mosquito Shore; something

thing to relieve the logwood cutters from
 the late hardships imposed by the last con-
 vention, as well as satisfaction for the af-
 fair at Nootka Sound, and security to
 our whale fishery. The sequel shews that
 our ministers, while Great Britain has
 any thing to give away, can refuse no-
 thing to their friends the Spaniards.
 That the Dons may practice any cruelty
 or depredation on the English with cer-
 tainty of British absolution. To this
 end is the preamble of the present con-
 vention. "Their Britannic and Catho-
 lic Majesties being desirous of termi-
 nating, by a speedy and solid agree-
 ment, the differences which have lately
 arisen between the two Crowns, have judg-
 ed that the best way of attaining this
 salutary object, would be that of an
 amicable arrangement; which, setting
 aside all retrospective discussion of the
 rights and pretensions of the two parties,
 should fix their respective situations for the
 future on a basis conformable to their true
 interests." In other words, that is to
 say, absolve us from the past, obliterate

all your demands, and we will fix how things may suit our future interest. This is a new mode of settling a long account, so as to prevent any balance appearing. The ministers assume the debt, and become answerable to the injured British subjects, in all the cases before mentioned. I suppose, except in that of Mr. Mears, who by article first and second, may expect compensation, *such as the logwood cutters hope for, after being robbed and imprisoned.* Possibly the convention of 1786, and this one, being all on one side, may be thought better worth notice than the more equitable violated treaties, prior to the year 1763.

Article third is mere love and friendship united. "That their subjects shall not be disturbed or molested, either in navigating or carrying on their fisheries in the Pacific Ocean, or in the South Seas, or in landing on the coasts of these seas, in places not already occupied for *purpose of carrying on their commerce with the natives of the country, or of making settle-*
ments

ments there, subject nevertheless to the restrictions, article sixth, *That no settlements shall be made hereafter by the subjects of either, on the eastern or western coasts of South America, or islands adjacent, south of those parts occupied by Spain; provided the said subjects shall retain the liberty of landing on the coasts and islands so situated, for the purposes of their fishery, and of erecting thereon huts, and other temporary buildings, serving only for these purposes. And not as above conditioned in article third, for the purpose of carrying on their commerce with the natives of the country, or of making settlements; in doing which they shall not be disturbed or molested.* These contradictions are left for the discussion of politicians; the third admits of commerce and settlement; the sixth restrains both.

Had our ministers procured ample atonement for all insults, and immediate reparation of all damages, two points remained to be settled, so as to admit of no doubt in future.

The

The first was Great Britain's claim to an exclusive right to Nootka Sound, and its trade *. This is given up by article fifth, allowing the Spaniards not only an equal participation thereof, but the like privilege in any settlement the English shall make there, or northward of the northermost settlement made by Spain, God knows where, on the north west coast of North America. Former good offices must make them perfectly agree together. The second great point was our right (if questioned) to continue as we have hitherto enjoyed, a free and uninterrupted fishery in the Pacific Ocean, and South Seas, and perfect freedom of intercourse with the inhabitants of the circumjacent coasts, where Spaniards do not reside.

* Our ministers, in this negociation, have not apparently adverted to a circumstance, that our trading posts and people are established from Canada, and also from Hudson's Bay, and occupy the whole country from the sources of the rivers Pasquin and Arabaska, west and south-west, and north-west of, and near Nootka Sound.

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This

This is also given up by article fourth, restricting the English from navigating nearer than thirty-six miles "from any part of the coasts occupied by Spain." The food on which whales feed, cuttle and other small fish, never abound in considerable quantities but near the land, as they live on smaller fish and animalculæ found only near the shores, consequently but very few whales are met with thirty-six miles, or more, from land, in the Atlantic, or other oceans. When whales are harpooned, they generally approach, rather than recede from the coast, and are commonly speared near to it. The whale fishery under this restriction is of no importance. Besides, it is impossible for the fishers to ascertain and comply with the distance prescribed, very flat land not being discoverable at a greater distance than two or three leagues, nor even high land in hazy weather or fogs. Neither is it possible for them to ascertain, on such vast coasts, the particular districts occupied by the Spaniards from those possessed by the native Indians, without

without approaching them, excepting in places of great notoriety particularly described on the common maps.

Not content with those and the former sacrifices, our ministers, by article six, have suffered the Spaniards, who have ever since the time of Columbus been exploring, and securing exclusively, all valuable places they could find and conquer, after satisfying themselves with as much territory as they can possibly support and retain, to preclude Great Britain from the common rights enjoyed at this day by every other power in Europe, of making solid establishments and permanent settlements in South America, by means of alliances, purchase, or otherways, from the free independent inhabitants of *that continent*. Debarred of approaching within thirty-six miles of the immense coasts, is it possible to know or discover what extension of settlement the Spaniards may hereafter make; what equivalent is or can be made for this national dishonour? The main object of the treaty of Utrecht

was, that Great Britain and Spain should retain their possessions in America, and prevent the French having more footing there. The French, and all other nations, are now left in possession of the right to settle in South America; and Great Britain, after being stripped of Campeachy, Honduras, and the Mosquito kingdom, and all the very valuable parts of the eastern coast of North America, is reduced to this peculiar predicament, with a navy equipt that, well directed, would have obtained substantial justice, and restoration of all that has been so ignominiously, and without any conceivable cause, or equivalent, been relinquished to the Spaniards.

How this right of settlement came to be involved with our demand of Nootka, and our freedom of navigation and fishery, is not explained. It is an important right, that, consistent with the honour of the crown, interest and dignity of the nation, cannot be alienated from the present or future kings and generations.

It

It is a right that has been exercised, as appears by the charters and letters patent granted since the earliest times by our sovereigns, "to discover, and take possession, of any countries in South America which were inhabited by heathen nations, for the enlargement of commerce, and the propagation of religion."

It seems beneath the present minister to look back to the letters patent granted by queen Elizabeth, James I. and others; or to benefit by the animated conduct in the reign of the former. Recourse to the history of the settlements in America can be of no use to those who are using their utmost endeavours to get rid of those few we possess. To so far contrast their conduct with that of others, it may be proper to observe, that no regard whatever was ever had by any European nation to the idle romantic claim of Spain under the Pope's grant, or their own still more ridiculous

diculous declarations, *maps of their own making twenty-seven years ago*, or other ridiculous pretences of sovereignty, over more than they actually occupied. Every nation so disposed, settled as their humour inclined them, where alliance could be made, and purchase from the free native Indians in South America. Hence arose the settlements made by the Portuguese, French, Dutch, Danes, Netherlanders, disregarding the Spanish ideas of exclusive right to land they dared not to invade or approach, or undefined exclusive navigation.

To say they are masters of the greatest part of South America which is inhabited by the unconquered natives, would be as false, even if our ministers admitted of it, as to say that the provinces occupied by the French, Portuguese, Dutch, or other nations, belonged to Spain. The insinuations in the manifesto, and the other vague claims of exclusive navigation and rights, are false, and not the

less

less so if our pusillanimous ministers were to injure and dishonour their country by an acquiescence to it. Even in instances of prior but not continued possession, the claim ceases. Instance the Bahamas, first discovered by Columbus, and taken possession of by him, with all possible form for his Catholic Majesty, being afterwards quitted to enjoy more fertile islands, remained unnoticed by others, till 1667, when an English captain, Sele, was driven by storm there, and gave his name to it. On a second voyage he was again driven among those islands, and called the one he anchored at, being the same that Columbus discovered, *Providence*, which name it has ever since retained. Charles II. took formal possession of it afterwards, but neglecting the settlement, it became a harbour for disorderly people, when, in 1718, government sent captain Woods Rogers to dislodge them, and erect a battery, and the English have ever since held it.

The

The Spaniards claimed the Bay of Mexico — the French, notwithstanding, settled in Louisiana in 1696, when, suspecting their intention, the former, in two ships with 150 soldiers, got into the mouth of the river Mississippi before them, and erected a small battery to dispute the passage; the French, in three men of war and a ketch, conformable to the king's orders, entered, and made good their footing. The English letters patent included all the eastern coast of North America; yet Cape Breton, not being occupied, the French took possession thereof.

All the Caribbean Islands and Bermudas were discovered and named by the Spaniards, yet they now rightfully belong to the different nations that settled them, excepting those of the English given up by the convention of 1786, but not yet taken possession of by the Spaniards.

The

The Dons have been very indulgent to their friends, the duke of Leeds and Mr. Pitt—they have not yet required Canada, &c. which is evidently included in “*the continent in general, and adjacent islands.*” Happy would it be for Great Britain if they had it, and the Mosquito kingdom and Honduras were restored in lieu thereof.

From the foregoing circumstances, and many others that might be mentioned, the present convention will evidently prove to be a short truce, and this nation be obliged to engage in a war. As these subjects are to be brought soon before parliament, they are dropped at present,

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